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AUTHOR Foster, William P.
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ABSTRACT

This paper presents an analysis of the "adjacent curriculum," a term defined as that knowledge that is organizational in origin and that is transmitted to the organization's members for the purpose of maintaining the organization as an abstract but functional entity. This "curriculum" consists of such material as conduct codes, evaluation forms, and other transmissions that serve, in addition to their specific function, to establish organizational legitimacy. This causes organizations to be viewed as established, unchanging, and "received," and disallows the emergence of a valuable dialectical relationship between the organization and the individuals it serves. (Author/JM)

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THE ADJACENT CURRICULUM

and the

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

A Paper to be Presented

at

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William P. Foster
College of Education
University of Delaware
Newark, Delaware 19711
(302) 738-2331

EA 012 634

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I. The Organization as a Construct.

1.1 The One and the Many.

A thematic concern which permeates modern thinking on the social sciences has been the problem of "the one and the many" - the reconcilliation of the individual with the group and the recognition of the tension that surrounds the "real" individual and the more abstract group. For the group is but the sum of the parts yet is recognized as more than this: as a thing in itself with its own knowledge, values and acts. The concept of "group," then, is the objectification of a shared idea and it is this in particular that <u>is</u> an organization. A school district, for example, is indeed an entity, an organization, a social fact that is, as Durkheim noted, a "thing." Yet one must ask where this organization is located in time and space; not in the school buildings, nor in only the school board or superintendent, nor in any of the real, individual units that make up this organizational form.

The district, however, exists; it functions more or less well in performing those duties which it has assigned itself. The problem with which this paper deals concerns the construction of this organizational reality and how it deals with the problem of the one and the many. This construction, it will be asserted, is accomplished through the categorization and transmission of knowledge, knowledge whose existence can be described in a shorthand fashion as a curriculum; it is a curriculum because it transmits "learning" to individual participants in the organization. The focus will be on the school as an organization. The major questions to be addressed include looking at how a school district constitutes itself as a district; how the participants in the district learn to understand that the district is at one and the same time an unchangeable fixture with its own identity <u>and</u> a changeable and changing construct.

1.2 Organizational Analysis.

The traditional approach to analyzing organizations has been to start with the organization itself as a given and then to proceed to examine structures (are there hierarchies?; lines and staffs?) and functions (can it be classed as a maintenance organization?; a governance one?). While this approach may be valuable of itself, it does not address the organization as a reality constructed by members in the organization, nor as a reality possibly negotiated by such members (Silverman, 1971).

Benson's interesting paper (1977a) suggests that there may even be a crisis arising in traditional organizational analyses because of their reluctance to consider organizations as human constructs; he localizes the crisis in the traditional theory's weakness in four specific analytic considerations:

action -- the study of human interactions in producing an organizational reality;

power -- the uses of the organization in the distribution of power;

levels -- the analysis of the fluid dynamics of organizational boundary-making; and,

process -- the forms of negotiations that reproduce and maintain organizational patterns.

For an organizational analyst, these four areas lead to a recognition that organizations in fact may not be as they seem. The "common knowledge" about the organization among participants in the organization may be a reification which functions to disguise processes, interactions, power and levels. In schools, for example, the widely shared beliefs about goals, defined roles and hierarchies, and rational procedures of operation, including the necessity for long-term planning, management by objectives and formal evaluation methods, may serve primarily to establish a mythology of organizational permanence and to provide members in the school community with something of an objective culture. Such objectifications are, however, necessary to the members, if not to the theorist.

These reifications could be cast as the organizational morphology, "the officially enforced and conventionally accepted view of the organization" (Benson, 1977b, p. 10). In this institutional lingue, the one -- the individual -- functions in the context of the many and is considered to be the conscious decision-maker whose actions mesh with those organizationally-developed goals and objectives. The individual's place is rather well-defined and the connections that attain between his role and the roles of others is easily represented on the organizational chart. Thus in a school system the organizational components -- the teaching staff, building administrators, central office staff and so on -- are theoretically marching to the same beat and clearly answering the same organizational needs.

The organizational morphology, however, is not necessarily the organizational reality. The organization is a locus of ambiguity and the site of what March and Olsen (1976, p. 26) dub "garbage can processes" for decision making. For example, they point out (1976, p. 16) that:

> Our observations suggest that the connection between individual action and organizational action is sometimes quite loose. Sometimes we observe that the (internal) decision-making process is not strongly related to the organizational action, i.e., the policy selected, the price set, the man hired. Rather it is connected to the definition of truth and virtue in the organization, to the allocation of status, to the maintenance or change of friendship, goodwill, loyalty, and legitimacy; to the definition and redefinition of 'group interest.'

In short, a number of simultaneous constructions and definitions of what "is" are occuring in the organization and are being continually transmitted to the participants. It is as if, as Weick (1976, p. 13) has suggested, that these (educational) organizations are but "loosely coupled" subsystems (e.g., the teaching subsystem with the administrative subsystem) where "a predominant activity should involve constructing social realities" (Weick, 1976, p. 13). The ambiguous organization, despite its coupling system, must

continually define itself and its concept of what should be; these definitions occur at various levels, and involve informing the participants about the current power distribution, the priorities to be given to certain activities, the extent of the involvement of other organizations, and the limits to be placed on members' influence and concern.

1.3 The School as an Organizational Set.

Given the somewhat ambiguous and tenuous connections between the organization, the environment and the participants, it can be asked what processes occur which structure the organization as an identifiable entity, one which can easily be distinguished from other, similar organizations. Despite ambiguity and the irreality of the morphology, we can still define a school as a school and contend that a school as a school is essentially different from a welfare agency, or a clinic, or a factory, though the school uses metaphors borrowed from all of these institutions.

There do then appear to be quite distinct structural differences between organizations, even though it can be claimed that the organizational set distinguished by contemporary organizational theory, that is, the listing of roles, tasks, decisional processes, etc., is imperfect in the sense that it neglects the interpersonal engagement of participants in defining the organization and negotiating the internal construction. Each one through ideas and acts develops a consensual agreement on his place in the scheme of things. But there are limits to this construction, material limits dictated by external social, economic and political forces. A particular, traditional school would, of course, find it most difficult to one day construct a new reality or negotiate a new order, a free school approach, for example. The pressure to change is usually, if not always, environmental; it appears to be in the nature of things that things must be routinized and patterned, as Sarason notes (197_, p. 3) when he talks of the "programmatic regularities"

in the school structure. It is these regularities that do allow one to identify and define a specific collection of individuals as an in-time organization engaged in educational functions.

Looking, for example, at the organizational charts of various organizational concerns, one would generally expect to find the equivalent of a chief executive, a board of directors, supervisory staff, on-line workers, and consumers. This is what allows Mintzberg (1973) to include a school superintendent in his study of managerial work performed by organizational executives. Yet we can recognize that an educational organization is fundamentally different from a business concern (though many suggest it should not be so; cf. Umans, 1971). The participants in the educational organization can at the least be expected to have different attitudes, values, rhetoric and even world-view from other organizations. Our tacit knowledge is that there is a difference and that there are distinctive categories of knowledge that distinguish one organization from another.

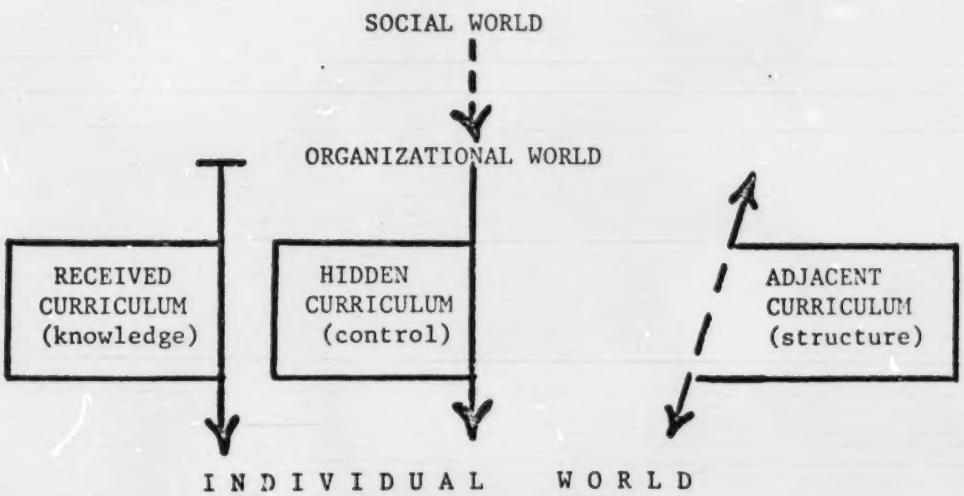
1.4 Transmitting Organizational Knowledge.

The thesis being developed here is that the material limits to organizational reality-construction are transmitted through a curriculum which defines what the categories of action are and what knowledge is of most worth in the particular organization. This curriculum defines the organization as an organization and circumscribes its behavior in the world. For reasons to be developed, it has been labeled here the adjacent curriculum.

Eggleston's discussion (1977) of the curricular aspects of the school are important precursors to this thesis. He claims that the sociology of the curriculum has been investigated largely through two ideological models (each of which could be appropriately related to the previous discussion of organizational analyses). One model is the "received" perspective, the other, the "reflexive" perspective. A received perspective suggests that curricular

knowledge is the actual representation of an objective world: it is passed down knowledge which is accepted on its face. It is essentially a conservative view of a curriculum as accumulated facts. A reflexive perspective, however, challenges this concept: in such a perspective, the curriculum itself is socially created, a creation which tends to disguise relations of power, class and status. Eggleston rejects both perspectives, one because it creates a false objectivity and the other because it has no objectivity. His combinational approach he calls the restructured perspective; this is the analysis of the curriculum field through a reflexive vision of received knowledge but without the adoption of complete relativism.

In this context, an organization can be defined as shared participation in a community defined by received knowledge; an analysis of it, however, can be done through a reflexive or restructured perspective. Since we are in fact talking about the transmission of knowledge, we are talking about a curriculum, an organizational curriculum which lies adjacent to the observed curriculum and to the hidden curriculum. The adjacent curriculum is the transmittal of that body of knowledge which defines and distinguishes the organization; it is, to pursue the grammatical analogy, the collection of phonemes in the organization's morphology. The relationship of this type of curriculum to the school can be displayed in this fashion:



In this view, the adjacent curriculum must be distinguished from a) the conventional curriculum, b) the hidden curriculum and c) processes of socialization.

The conventional curriculum is of course that body of knowledge whose transmission is the acknowledged and official function of the school. Bernstein (1975, ch. 4) categorizes the curriculum as being of a collection type or an integrated type: these are poles on a continuum. At the one end is a discreetly bounded and time framed content area distinction; at the other end, the curriculum is marked by the absence of such distinctions -- it could be argued that there is not a curriculum as such but a series of "experiences." Neither the collection nor the integrated type, however, define the nature of the organization, though they may be additional constraints on it (in the sense that committment to a collection curricula would almost proscribe an "open" or "free" school structure). While the adjacent curriculum interacts and helps to structure the conventional curriculum, the construct cannot be taken to be identical with the notion of a conventional or regular curriculum.

Neither do we intend the adjacent curriculum to be taken as completely identical with the hidden curriculum, as this concept is implied in Dreeben's (1967, 1968) work and expressed in Jackson's (1968) study, although these works provide the inspiration for the thought. By a hidden curriculum, it can be taken to mean the transmittal of a number of deep messages through surface vehicles i.e., through the conventional curriculum and the pedagogy. These instruments seem to produce conditions leading to denials, delays, distractions, interruptions but to the learning of that virtue of "precarious balance," patience. Dealing with conditions such as these is apparently necessary for living with what Jules Henry called our "essential nightmare," and to learning the norms of independence, achievement, universality and particularism that

Robert Dreeben said were so necessary for our way of life. The hidden curriculum seems to function despite particular organizational forms and is certainly not confined to the schoolroom.

More distinctly, the hidden curriculum is directed at securing the conformity of the student population rather than in constructing a social reality: it appears as a process for socializing the student into a preconstructed reality. Eggleston (1977, p. 117) notes that:

> ... though the hidden curriculum holds out the prospect of student power in the curriculum, our account suggests that for the most part it acts as one with the official curriculum as an agent of social control. It identifies the student with 'their place' in the social system, brings them into compliance with its norms and values and with the structures and the sanctions with which they are imposed. The curriculum becomes even more clearly identified as being not just about subjects or even examinations but about a way of life.

Whereas the hidden curriculum projects this way of life into the developing consciousness of the student, the adjacent curriculum transmits knowledge about the strictures of the organization itself. In this sense, it is an aspect of the same phenonemon, yet different in the functions it is to express. Rather than dealing strictly with the socialization of the child into an established reality, the adjacent curriculum reflects an attempt to establish a reality which could as well be otherwise. That is, the particular and specific structure of a school organization need not take the form that it would at present have; because of this variation, the organization needs to continually re-establish itself as a legitimate construction performing a needed task. The adjacent curriculum is a means for so doing. It is the epistemological connection between the individual and the organization.

The concept which I am trying to develop is, like the hidden curriculum, a component of the socialization process. The primary socialization of the child occurs in the family and that institutional nexus surrounding the

family. In this sense, socialization has been expressed in at least four ways -- Freudian, social reinforcement, cognitive-development and Mead's theory of roles (Cook, 1973). At this level, the concept of socialization is addressing the idea of selective social tramsmissions and the emergence of the controlled self. Socialization in the context of the school again suggests this focus. The issue here revolves less around this primary development of the individual than around the socialized individual's interactions with an organization. We have perhaps with the adjacent curriculum a form of occupational socialization into a role, but the stress must be put on the ongoing negotiations and transmittals: this must be distinguished from the entry-level socialization procedures: "showing the ropes," to the organizational tyro. We include under the adjacent curriculum organizational knowledge which establishes the various places and behaviors of even the experienced teacher and principal as they coexist in a necessarily changing environment. The attempt that must be made is that of introducing into the secondary socialization process the variable of time so that one can account for the organization which both changes in time (with new programs, curricula and personnel) and yet retains its own identity (pre-closing cataclysmic circumstances).

II. The Adjacent Curriculum as a Construct

The premises put forward so far assert that (1) the organization is a constructed abstraction which arises from subjective negotiations based on an objective milieu. Participants in the school culture share a view of a school reality which must be seen as a logical reconstruction of individual activities inserted into a shared framework. The dimensions of this framework are carried, (2) through a curriculum of organizational knowledge adjacent to the conventional and the moral curricula. The adjacent curriculum thus

can be seen to present a moral universe to organizational members, defining appropriate activities and relationships. As such, this curriculum can be examined as a series of categorical messages about the organization and the members in it.

2.1 Classification and Framing.

Our analysis of the organizational message takes place in the context of Bernstein's (1975, ch. 5) formulation of the notion of classification and framing. By classification, he seems to mean the categorization of curricular knowledge, to strength of separation between classes:

> Classification thus refers to the degree of boundary maintenance between contents. Classification focuses our attention upon boundary strengths as the critical distinguishing feature of the division of labour of educational knowledge. It gives us, as I hope to show, the basic structure of the message system, curriculum. (1975, p. 88, v.3)

Frame, on the other hand, refers to the human relationships that exist in the transmittal of knowledge

> Frame refers to the form of the context in which knowledge is transmitted and received. Frame refers to the specific pedagogical relationship of teacher and taught. (1975, p. 88, v. 3)

Both classification and framing are directly related to symptoms of power and control: the types of knowledge classed, the strength of the separation of areas, and the means for communicating the knowledge assert the need to recognize the hierarchical and distributive components in the teaching-learning process. Classification refers directly to the curriculum while framing refers to the pedagogy: this is essentially the "what" and the "how" of classroom life. A parallel thus can be drawn between these overtly curricular-pedagogical relationships and the organizational relationships in which they occur. This parallel would examine the adjacent or organizational curriculum in terms of both classification and framing. While the empirical standing of this assertion is untested, the following relationships might be hypothesized:

Classification: a school organization with strong classification (i.e., the boundaries between content areas are unambiguous) would be highly specialized and traditional in structure. Teachers would be expected to be self-sufficient and compartmentalized. The administration would concern itself primarily with the technical aspects of schod management, the metaphor being "a general." The time is controlled.

An organization with weak classification would be organized around the principle of interchange, and the exemplar would be the Summerhillian type of school where the boundaries between what is organizationally permissible and what is not are unclear. The metaphor for the administration would be "father."

Framing: A school organization with strong framing would tend to have strongly prescribed roles and frequent role "checks." The relationship between teachers, principals and central administration would be quite clear in terms of rights and duties. The space is controlled.

A weakly-framed school would have changing, amorphous role relationships where, for example, the distinction between a "teacher" and a "pupil" is vague, as with some of the very free and open secondary schools whose employment of teachers is based on youth and enthusiasm rather than credentials.

The adjacent curriculum then serves as a shorthand expression for conveying to the organizational participants the degrees of classification and of framing which are constitutive of the organization in its changing time/spatial environment.

2.2 Curricular Content.

The notion of degrees in classification and framing is useful because it allows organizations to be distinguished on a continuum ranging from chaotic to militaristic, and it allows an analysis of an adjacent curriculum in terms of its contribution to making stronger or weaker frames and classes.

In this sense, we can approach an explanatory thesis for the term school "climate." This meteorological analogy is usually taken as a given rather than problematic and open to discussion.

The adjacent curriculum then can be said to carry messages about the degree of organizational classification and framing. In schools these messages can themselves be classified in term of constructions which "teach" the organizational member about the objective organization and which allow degrees of freedom in subjectively negotiating the organizational environment.

2.2.1 Message 1 - The Objectification of the Organization.

The organization must establish itself in the consciousness of the individual as an "it." It must be named and made objective. In so doing, the school organization is establishing a structure of relations between the individuals participating in the organization. Consider, for example, the following quote from a school district's brochure for parents (quoted in Warren, p. 12 -- 1975, p. 140).

> Dennison is a growing school district striving toward the best for the youth of the community. Success in reaching this objective might well be determined by the extent to which parents and school staffs cooperatively move forward together. Our mutual goal must be maximum achievement by each student. In this light, please accept our suggestions in how the school may aid your child achieve to the best of his ability.

Among the surface instructions is contained a deep message: that Dennison is a real, purposeful and goal-oriented organism, separate from students, parents and teaching staff. This message may be carried in a number of ways, including interpersonal and written communications. As another example, consider the following policy statement:

> When a student is absent from school, he must have a parent or guardian call the school that same morning between 8:00 and 9:00 a.m. to give the reason for the absence.

Here, the individual class, "parent," is requested to communicate with the organizational class, "school," regarding a particular situation and during a particular time. The framing of relationships would appear strong. But in addition to the obvious message, the sentence establishes the "school" as an entity capable of receiving an oral communication (though of course it will be a person - the secretary - who will actually be receiving the call). This objectification is of course a common feature of organized life and is notable not for its existence as such but for the way it can be used to structure relations.

2.2.2 Message 2 - The Discursive Culture of the Organization.

The organizational curriculum also appears to carry a distinct message about the need and utility of literacy and what might be best described as discursive thought. This message is that literacy is the prime function of the school and is a necessary feature of organizational reality. This message may or may not appear in families: even if the conception of literacy is stressed within the middle-class family, however, it remains as a primarily orally literate unit. Only in the organization does written literacy take on the quality of an everyday necessity. Goody and Watt (1972, p. 342) have noted:

> If, for example, we return to the reasons for the relative failure of universal compulsory education to bring about the intellectual, social and political results that James Mill expected, we may well lay a major part of the blame on the gap between the public literate tradition of the school, and the very different and indeed often directly contradictory private oral traditions of the pupil's family and peer group.

In every professional segment of its life, the organization reinforces the requirement for literacy. No absence, no complaint, no meeting can proceed without written notification or justification.

As one staff bulletin puts it: "Any written communication by a professional should appear to have been written by a professional." By ignoring the logical argument that anything written by a professional is ipso facto written by a professional, the organization requires a certain standard of writing: it is standard that is carried by the adjacent curriculum and is characterized by formality. Thus, a "folksy" style is soon discouraged in an organization striving for professionalism. This carries with it a logic of its own - that proper writing is objective and discursive, as in the following example:

> A five member Board of Education is the policy-making agency of the district. Members are elected to five year terms. The Board transacts its business at monthly public meetings. (brochure, Central School District)

The message carried identifies a specific number of alternatives out of the possible universe. The uses of writing are in fact limited: writing a story for entertainment is not an organizational task. Organizational writing classifies the message, usually into

a) commands and instructions,

b) locations of importance,

c) locations of position.

Locations of importance are those messages that inform the participants of the purpose and the priorities in the institution - of the reason for being and of the goals and ends sought. An educational organization can therefore be expected to pass on messages about such things as "passing on traditions," "educating the whole child," and "high degree of achievement."

Locations of position inform the organizational member not about the what but about the who - from important community members, to the school board, to the roles of the superintendents, principals, auxilliary staff and teachers. The current expression for administrative positions is

"leadership," for teaching positions, "instructor." Part of the curriculum of any organization must be localizing in the hierarchy the various members and I suspect that this is done not only through job descriptions at the point of entry but continuously. As Warren (1975, p. 141) observes:

> The process of instructing teachers is affected in diverse ways such as evaluation, preschool orientation, workshops and the like. School principals evaluate teachers in the areas of instructional skills, classroom management, personal qualities, and professionalism.

A selected item in the area of professionalism that the district in question looks for is:

> 1. Seeks guidance and help from curriculum leaders, administrators, counselors, or other available resources.

For one individual to be told from where to seek "guidance and help" is indeed to locate that individual in a space of relationships - a space somewhat lower than those from whom help is being sought.

2.2.3 Message 3 - The Need for Spatial and Emotional Isolation.

By its nature, the act of teaching is a social event, yet organizationally this event must take place in an isolated context - teachers have only infrequent and tentative professional contacts with other teachers; they must make a "lonely accommodation with the organizational and cultural context" (Warren, 1975, p. 147). They must in a fashion, learn that the organization's structure requires contained isolation. Sarason (1971, p. 171) has noted that new teachers "are quite unprepared both for the loneliness of the classroom and the lack of relationships in which questions and problems can be asked and discussed without the fear that the teacher is being evaluated." The organization creates and carries the message of individual accountability for performance, a performance which is open to critical evaluation.

Lortie (1975, p. 195) has pointed out that in his study of teachers, "The etiquette rule seems to be"live and let live, and help when asked." Teaching norms "encourage both individualism and sharing of technical knowledge." His analysis looks at the cooperative aspects of teaching in terms of the psychic rewards to be garnered, not the least of which is pooling occupational knowledge in an informal manner without having to yield one's autonomy. The requirement for isolation in the classroom is largely an organizational requirement transmitted to teachers and which tends to serve organizational needs. There is no inherent or essential appeal to the age-grade-size structuring of most school systems other than its appeal for organizational control. Yet teachers themselves tend not to recognize this part of the adjacent curriculum: "they act as if they had considerably more freedom and power than they do. They overlook the realities of their status and try to get others to do the same" (Lortie, 1975, p. 203). One effect has been, as Lortie notes, to retard the development of a collective body of knowledge - "Teachers who work in isolation cannot create an empirically grounded, semantically potent common language . . ." (Lortie, 1975, p. 212); another effect, however, is to reinforce the logic of organizational control - a logic which sees individuals in organizations as replaceable parts in the timeless machinery of organizational survival. The rule is: No one is indispensable. Individualism in the school setting by definition prevents the development of emotional peer bonds which could through collective action threaten the control structure. Thus it is necessary for the organization to in a sense protect itself by sending out a message or curriculum reinforcing structural isolation.

The message is carried in a number of ways. Evaluation by the principal of the individual teacher is one such way. Items on such evaluation usually attempt to assess the teacher's compliance with organizational norms. One

such form looks at such qualities as "community responsiveness and respect," "participation in professional development programs," "self motivation," "personal strength," "cooperation and team play," "poise and social conduct," and "commitment to school district." Requirements for effective teaching, from the organizational point of view, include such qualities as proper attitudes and good grooming. But the organization is also interested within this context in the socialization and intellectual development of children. Thus most forms will provide an opportunity for a teacher to be rated on discipline, development of mental processes and so on. By so doing, it directs the individual's attention to that which is considered important in the organization.

But essentially the evaluation tends to confirm the established patterns of organizational control. Wolcott (1973, p. 268) observes:

> The evaluation ceremony appeared to serve the needs of the organization better than it served the needs of the individuals in it. That is, at the personal level the preparation of the evaluations produced anxiety on the part of many principals because of the magnitude and touchiness of the task, and anxiety on the part of many teachers because of the meaning of the task. On the other hand, at the cost of these individual anxieties, the ceremony provided a midyear reaffirmation of the status hierarchy by which schools are organized and administered. The evaluation ceremony reaffirmed organizational rules and policies imposed within the hierarchy, with the effect of keeping the locus of power in the central office and meting out detailed elements of responsibility rather than delegating authority and responsibility on a broad basis.

It need be noted that the evaluation process was anxiety-laden not only for the subjects of the evaluation, the teachers, but also for those performing the evaluation, the principals. This suggests that even the principals may have felt a compulsion to perform "correctly" in the eyes of the next level on the hierarchy - that is to turn in evaluations which fit the requirements of the organizational curriculum: neither too positive nor too negative

nor too emotional. As a principal reflects on the process (Wolcott, 1973, p. 246):

> It's impossible to get people to do a good job for you when you are supposed to write evaluations about them 'with some teeth in it,' and that is what THEY expect you to do.

The evaluation process then becomes a vehicle not simply for assessing teaching competency but for carrying a message about the nature of the organizational system: "The evaluation process subtly reaffirmed that teachers, like principals and school buildings, belonged to the school district rather than to individual schools" (Wolcott, 1973, p. 272). In reinforcing this distinction, the evaluation process virtually insures the structural isolation of teachers - for the evaluated as individuals in the context of their own class space, and decisions to provide tenure, to transfer, or to fire are made on individual case bases. Even amongst themselves, teachers are notoriously reluctant to share these private evaluations.

As part of the organizational development of structural isolation, the adjacent curriculum carries a message on emotional isolation. The very idea of "professionalism" as it is supported and transmitted by the central office implies a cool autonomy uncluttered by emotional ties. Teacher handbooks instruct teachers in the requirements of professional behavior and reiterate the need for a clean image. Teachers, because of their sensitive position in relation to the young, are under quite strict requirements even when they are on supposed free time. These requirements are to contain their emotional involvement with other actors on the scene: that is, to interact with the others in terms of their role rather than their essence so that pupils remain only pupils and staff only staff. Lortie's work (1975 ch. 8, n. 3) provides one example of this

> Five town teachers were asked what constituted fun in their work. Many talked of those moments when teacher and students could act together in a spirit of relaxed rapport, sharing jokes and such. Yet the pathos of teaching

> asserted itself; many added that one had to avoid prolonging such moments lest the students 'take advantage' and the teacher lose control. (Data references omitted)

"Losing control" is one of the major fears with which teachers must deal; it is contained in even the principal's mildest observation about "somewhat excessive noise" in the classroom. This is the organizational furtherance of what Bettelheim (1979,) has discussed as the reality principle -- the establishment of a moral universe based initially on fear and the postponement of pleasure. Such organizational requirements as "Corporal punishment may only be administered by a teacher when the principal or his delegate is present" reflect at one level the need to abide by the reality principle, not to give in to the emotional demands of the moment. On another plane, school dress codes for staff and students represent the organization's need to maintain emotional distance between individuals.

2.3.3 Message 4 - The Requirements of Organizational Rationality.

In his study of the industrial subculture, Turner (1972, p. 21) found that "the major belief system which serves to justify actions within the subculture (to be a) rational-technical one . . ." I take him here to mean a belief in instrumental, organizational rationality, that such rationality, involving the selection of means and the development of formal rules of procedure, will produce efficient and effective results. Weber distinguished between social action of an instrumental kind - the "zweckrational" - and action oriented to absolutes - the "wertrational" (Hamilton, 1974, p. 95). Organizational action is of an instrumental nature; "it refers to action that is determined by an actor's employment of means in relation to specific rational ends . . ." (Hamilton, 1974, p. 95).

Now it would appear that the pre-organized individual operates by a system of symbolic beliefs which have <u>embedded within them</u> a framework of purposiveness (see Habermas, 1970, for a discussion of this). Individual

actions are communicative actions, thus involving the use of symbols and meanings and oriented to normative conduct which involves ethical and moral judgements. Organizational action, however, is largely purposive means-oriented and shies away from moral overtones. The transformation of substantive action into formal action requires the disembedding of instruments from ends and the objectification of process.

Weber (in Gerth and Mills, 1972, p. 299) observed that:

> ". . . submission under legal authority is based upon an impersonal bond to the generally defined and functional 'duty of office.' The official duty - like the corresponding right to exercise authority: the 'jurisdictional competency' - is fixed by rationally established norms, by enactments, decrees, and regulations, in such a manner that the legitimacy of the authority becomes the legality of the general rule, which is purposely thought out, enacted, and announced with formal correctness.

The psychology of the individual which we must assume is pre-bureaucratic must be re-rationalized in the organization through manipulation by organizational forms. This curriculum is carried by such features as the evaluation process that has been discussed where teachers themselves are taught that they are the means of conventional curriculum transmission. Teachers are now expected to perform and to perform competently within the rules delineated by the organization. Warren (1975) has discussed, for example, the desire of many teachers to transfer to "faster" sections as reflecting the teachers' wish to demonstrate competence - to be successful in meeting the requirements put on them. Weber showed how such requirements in a bureaucratic society were only demonstrable by examination. To succeed, one must be successfully examined and the examination system is a basic requirement for advancement not only through school but through any type of bureaucratic structure. The evaluation process serves as this exam for the teaching corps. Certification is but the first step.

Because of such organizational rationality, teachers become a means to the curricular (or organizational) ends. The adjacent curriculum from the organization tends to carry this message, then (which may be framed and classed in weaker or stronger fashion):

> Where formerly curriculum was embodied in pedagogy,
> now pedagogy is embodied in curriculum.

This is to say that the historical development of the organization has, in view of the division of labor and the specialization of teachers, changed the role of teaching from the position where the teacher or mentor created and transmitted a curriculum whose content lay as much within the teacher as without. As Tyack (1973, p. 19) has pointed, in the early, rural school "Authority inhered in the person, not the office, or schoolmaster" and "The 'curriculum' of the rural school was often whatever textbooks lay at hand." But with the centralized organization of schooling, the curriculum was to be made teacher-proof. Teaching, in fact, was to become as standardized as possible: witness the consistent and popular use of objectives and "competencies" prepared for classroom use by someone other than the teacher. In this sense, for the organization, the individual teacher is replaceable while the curriculum goes on; this pedagogy becomes embodied in curriculum and the demands of rational organization are met. Thus through the standardization and centralization of the conventional curriculum -- as it is selected and developed by the administration, and the enformalization of this curriculum in the school organization, an adjacent message is transmitted -- that organizational rationality will predominate and that the teacher is a means for the organization's ends. This is the way it must be.

As illustration, consider the notes of a school administrative intern who was keeping a log of school activities for me.

Week of September 17.

- teachers seem discouraged by the amount of new material to be digested.
- even though H/M has agreed to replace teachers editions in Spelling, I have recommended to Deputy Superintendent that we do not use this new spelling series (grades 6-8) until later in the year. This will take pressure off teachers. They already have enough spelling material they can use from their reading work. Principals agreed, teachers relieved.

Week of September 24.

- gave each teacher (5-8) copy of curriculum. Set up meeting for later this week to go over revisions of the checklist.
- still exchanging Language Books among the two elementary schools and the middle school.
- worked with each grade level on their checklist revisions. Pulled tests from the Language Arts Program to be considered for use as possibility for evaluating our competencies.
- made appointment with Deputy Superintendent to go over revised checklists on 9/25.
- spent all day (9/25) going over minimum competencies by grade level with Deputy Superintendent. Changed format of checklists so that they agreed with reading and math checklists.
- when revising K-4 checklists that went with __X__ Program found that only practical way to go was to use last year's checklist and the teacher recommendations from last spring. Teaching in __X__ is done on a spiral and it is difficult.

Week of October 1.

- took responsibility for putting checklists in reading, writing and math together with cover letter explaining promotion policy for K-5.
- went to Sunnyside School and Camelot School and distributed letters and checklists to each teacher. These were sent home by children.
- distributed checklists for each child's cumulative folder. Also, gave out "out of grade" level checklists to special education teachers.
- ran off packets of tests to be considered by teachers for assessing mastery of minimums.
- organized CAT tests and distributed them to each teacher.
- checked tests back after completion of testing.

2.3.4 Message 5 - The Requirement for Organizational Dependence.

The specialization and division of labor in the organization has the function of creating dependence by individuals on the totality. In addition to this structural creation, I think there is a definite curriculum presented by some in the organization to enhance the dependence of others. This curriculum is observable in the administrative fascination with the concept of "leadership," a concept which stands in a tense relationship to that of dependence. Effective and assertive leadership on the one hand suggest dependent and needful followership on the other. While much of what a principal, for example, may do within the school environment is of a "housekeeping" nature (see Sarason, 1971), the relationship between this administrator and the teachers is striking. In asking a number of teachers the common-sense question, "Why do administrators make more money than teachers?," the response invariably centered around the greater degree of "responsibility" administrators have. For example:

> "he makes the major decisions which supposedly affect the entire group"
>
> "additional responsibilities, longer hours"
>
> "the administrator is managing the group of teachers"
>
> "his responsibilities include the work that a teacher is doing plus the fifty or so other things she does daily"

All but two out of 14 teachers agreed that the higher one rose in administration, the more important the decisions to be made will be.

Teachers apparently feel that administrators are by and large the ones responsible for the operation of the school, including sometimes their own classroom. The organizational curriculum fosters a dependence of this nature even though many teachers rebel at the notion. Sarason (1971, p. 177) has observed that:

> What I became aware of during the discussion was that these teachers thought about children in precisely the same way that teachers say that school administrators think about teachers, that is, administrators do not discuss matters with teachers, they do not act as if the opinions of teachers were important, they treat teachers like a bunch of children, and so on. (Emphasis omitted).

This would indicate that in terms of their occupational performance, the workers' locus of control is external. This point is brought home forcefully by observations on what Jerry Harvey has called problems in the management of agreement. Harvey (1974) suggests that one of the major problems in organizations is the management of agreement, not in the management of conflict. The paradox, he points out, lies in organizations agreeing to pursue a particular course of action even when the individuals involved personally disapprove -- they assume that the "others" must want to act. The example of this is the Watergate bungle. There is something here on the line of "group-think."

On a related task, Harvey (1977) makes a convincing argument that organizations -- which apparently need to foster this dependence -- attempt to turn people into "phrogs." This happens when, for example, administrators take the responsibility for good or poor teaching, when teachers are blamed for the failure of students to learn, when performance in the organization must be assessed objectively, when justice is objectified and mercy never considered, when dissent is considered bad form. Harvey (1977, p. 22) comments

> (Phrogs) try to gauge the performance of others objectively, and they try to "keep their feelings out of the situation." However, when you treat another objectively (that is, as an object), you should know that the price of being objective--eliminating one's feelings from the situation -- is that you become an object yourself, since you have denied the very essence of your own humanness.

Conclusion.

This paper has attempted to develop a hypothesized construct, the adjacent curriculum, which allows the analysis of organizational realities in terms of the transmission of messages to organizational members. There is a conventional morphology and a substructure to organizations (Benson, 1977b) which can be examined as aspects of process, levels, action and power. The knowledge concerning events in each category is carried through the organization to individuals and served to objectify the organization as an entity and to establish time and spatial reference points for the individual. As a construct, for example, the idea of the "division of labor" is rather neat and trim; yet, in the reality of the organization, the division of labor is a constantly changing fact which is affected by power, status and prestige. It is the change that must be continually communicated through a curriculum.

I must follow here the convention that accompanies a paper of this sort by stating that much detailed, empirical research needs to be done if this concept is to be meaningful. It is necessary to begin to compare participant's perceptions of the school organization with perceptions of organizational officials and it is necessary to begin to examine structural differences between organizations performing the same basic function, e.g., urban and rural schools; open and traditional schools. I hope to be able to examine, for example, children's perceptions of the school organization through looking at the variation in perception by age and grade with respect to such factors as awareness of hierarchy, stratification, legitimacy, dramaturgy, perpetuity, size and control. I suspect that as one grows older, and has therefore been

in the organization longer, one's view of organizational reality subscribes more closely to the official morphology, even when this is simply inaccurate.

I see such a research program as being useful for the analyses of change possibilities in an organization. Too often the change literature ignores the sociology of organizations. One cannot expect to implement meaningful change by simply providing directives; more often than not, the adjacent curriculum will be sending contrary messages. Only by getting into the heart of school life as this is constructed by administrators, teachers and students can one hold out hope for the improvement of the social conditions of the school organization.

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